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more than for the other male relatives and he, at need, would hunt or till the land for her. But the relationship was one of help without intimacy. 593

The close tie with siblings of one's own sex and respectful help to the opposite sex, continued into adult life. The brothers, during their father's lifetime, worked together under him, often living in the same house and bringing their wives home to share it. On the father's death, they built themselves separate houses but often they continued to share the land and its proceeds, their wives cooking together in a common kitchen. (I. 2. A; I. V. A and C). 592 593

Even if the brothers divided their land, they acted in many way as an economic unit. Ceremonial payments falling upon one member were made by the whole group or by that member who could best afford it. Vengeance for murder — a rare occurence — fell on any member of the group who was available. Dependant relatives were billetted in any of the houses as convenient and the young people of the group worked for any member as ordered. The junior levirate was strongly in force and an older brother, dying, would be replaced in his household by one of the younger ones. 593 [628 682] [587]

The companionship of sisters somethimes lasted equally long. After sleeping on the same mat through childhood two of them, or even three or four, might be married to the same man and continue to share their tasks till death. Even though they were not co-wives during life, the younger might marry her sister's widower and care for her sister's children. [587]

But when the sororate was not convenient, the connection of sisters with all their siblings temporarily lapsed. A woman was always expected to marry into another village so as to avoid her blood kin, and in her husband's household she became part of a new female group, composed of sisters-in-law married to the sons of the family. Often she was too far off for her siblings even to send her gifts, for only one gift exchange between such a brother and sister is mentioned (I. 3. B). If her brothers went through ceremonial purification, she might not know of it and would be absolved from bathing and fasting. She would go through these rites with her new family; her husband and his resident brothers. [582]

But this separation, dependent on geographic limitations, was often only temporary. If the sister's marriage was broken up by death or divorce, she immediately returned home. (I. 3. B). If she were too old to remarry, her brothers would provide for her as suited their arrangements: either in a house with one of them, in a separate house, with a field of her own or with produce from the common field. If she was still young, it was their duty to find her 593 587 584

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another husband. "My brother found a man for me. I did not want that man but I could say nothing against my brother," (26). The males of the group were in authority and their responsibility for the sister was resumed as soon as her connection with the distant village ceased.

This sometimes happened without her losing her husband. For various reasons, listed elsewhere, she might find it convenient to return with her husband and share the family land. No objection was ever made to this practice and for three groups of brothers only, there are five groups including one or more sisters. (I. 1. A. B. C. D. E; I. 3. B. 5. 9. and 12; I. 6. A. B. C. D; I. 7. A. B. C; I. 8. A B. C. D. E). In such a case, the sister's husband was given exactly the same status as a brother, sharing land, services and payments. But the sex division continued for even adult men should not converse too freely with their sisters. It was the sister's husband who received intimate treatment, while the sister joined the group of her brother's wives.

Outside the group of blood brothers and sisters, were the "distant siblings", the cross and parallel cousins on both side of the house with whom marriage was forbidden. But the relationship was sometimes rather vague if the relative lived in a distant village. "They married me to one whom I called elder brother but he was very distant. And he lived in another village so we thought there was no harm" (26). In childhood, if cousins were the children of brothers, they might live very intimately but as they grew up, they formed their own sibling groups and were cut off from their former companions. Still, they were thought of as potential intimates and, whenever the geographic difficulty could be overcome, they were accepted into the circle. "I heard this story from my father's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. She was living with us that winter" (26). In cases of necessity, also, duty to a sibling had to be done at all costs. I. B. 1 was an old man with three wives but when his distant senior sibling died and there was no one to marry the widow I. B. 1 became her titular husband although neither he nor she cared to have her live with him.

It may be of interest to note whether Papago behavior shows any emphasis on seniority outside that involved in the levirate and sororate. Very little is apparent for, although in the origin myth, the supernaturals strove for the title of Elder Brother, no modern informant could explain why the title was important. Such a title is usually connected with inheritance of property or office but Papago sons inherit the father's land equally, sometimes without dividing it. I. 1. 8. B. 1, an oldest brother, voluntarily absented himself and

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left the inherited field to the others. Ceremonial and secular office were handed down by the father, not to the oldest son but to that one fittest to receive them. "I started teaching my ritual to my oldest son, but it seemed he couldn't learn. Then I tried the second but he was always away, working for the Whites. Now I must get a nephew," (2). The father-in-law of 21 tried teaching the calendar stick to his son, found him a poor memorizer and gave it to his son-in-law. Thus the eldest does not inherit property or office nor does he, apparently [illegible] authority. (I. 1. A an oldest son and II 1. 8. A. 2, an oldest daughter, took authority in their groups, but this was rather by virtue of character than seniority.) It is true there is authority in the family but it is exercised by the brothers in a group over the sisters, not by one oldest son.

Seniority would seem to be referable only to sororate and levirate, which dictated the kinship terms and we may question whether its appearance in the myth is not also a heritage from some of the other cultures where the same myth is found and where the older brother may have more importance.

Sibling behavior according to this data matches sibling terminology in those points emphasized by the terms, which are points having to do with marriage. Cousins on both sides of the house are considered equal and are impossible as mates while their age status is important because of junior levirate and sororate. But in daily life there appear two other important factors, not reflected in the terms: sex of the relative which conditions social behavior and geographic situation on which all kin behavior is contingent.

PARENT CLASS. Probably the most intimate relation in Papago life was that between father and son. The father was the head of an economic unit, with his sons as his working staff. He directed their labor and arranged for the sale of the produce. If new equipment was needed for any member of the family out of the common supply, he decided upon it. He was responsible for the behavior of his sons and, long after their marriage, he continued to direct them by moral discourse. He, with the mother, decided upon the marriages and received the brides under his protection. When the sons underwent ceremonial purification it was he, first of all, who should make the payment and receive the consequent blessing. He continued as their protector and advisor until his own death, and began very early to train one of them to carry on any office he might hold or to practice any skill. Hunting or weaving, therefore, ran in special families, where the father passed on his knowledge to his sons.

Although the father was so definitely the head of the family, he ruled, as did the chief, by moral suasion rather than by force. He and

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MARRIAGE AND SEX BEHAVIOR

595 [756 624]

Polygynous marriage was approved but not practised by every one. Old men, particularly the shaman and the Keeper of the Meeting, often had four wives but most had two. Very young men had only one.

595 587

The sororate was in full force. If a man had married one daughter in a family, it was expected as a matter of course, that he would take all the others as they matured, even while the first wife was living. The junior levirate is a vague tradition. It was "a good thing" if a man's younger brother married his widow but it was not required. Some informants had not even heard of the tradition.

582 584

Marriage was arranged by the bride's parents. They saw that their daughter's breasts were large and they said, "They should be used for something." This might be immediately after puberty. It was felt that marriage should synchronize with the awakening of sex interest and some informants even quote twelve as a marriageable age for a girl. (1) The husband, if this were his first marriage, might be sixteen or seventeen. He and his young bride were by no means considered adults but lived with the groom's parents in a state of tutelage until they had several children. [591]

The choosing of a mate for the first daughter in the family was subject to certain rules. There were no clan or moiety restrictions, but the youth should not be a relative, that is, a lineal descendant of any one of the bride's great grandparents. Also he should be from another village. This latter was a social rule but not enforced by supernatural punishments as was exogamy among relatives. If the girl's father had been wounded by an Apache, she should marry the son of a man so wounded, since it produced a form of family taint that must not be spread.

584

Having decided on a mate, the girl's parents consulted the adult relatives of the father's lineage and of the mother's. All gave their opinion as to whether the youth was industrious and a good runner and if they decided that he was eligible, the girl's parents called on his parents with the proposal: "We have an industrious daughter. We offer her to your son."

The boy's parents, if they objected to the girl, would take care not to be at home for to refuse would be an insult. But if the boy were already affianced, it was proper to say: "He has already been given a girl." Otherwise they replied: "We think as you do." A

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584 A
[431] slight interchange of gifts usually took place, rather as a courteous gesture than an economic procedure. The only other formality was
[585] for the youth to sleep at the house of the girl for the first four nights while the marriage was consummated. After that they went to live with his family.

But before the marriage took place, the parents allowed about a month to elapse while they trained their children for the new status. The training took the same form of nightly admonition which had been given during childhood. Both young people were instructed to be industrious and to show consideration to each other. The girl, whose home would now be with her husband's family, was told that she must take over the work for her mother-in-law. A sample of such admonition by a girl's father follows:

"We want you to behave yourself as we have always taught you to do. Stay there in the right way. Don't wait for your mother-in-law to tell you what to do. Get up early, find wheat, grind flour. If you can't make tortillas, have flour ready for her to make them. You stay right there and make your home there. It has been here, but now you belong there. Stay home, don't run around. Do your work, carry the wood, cook something. Any work you see, you do it. Don't go off to peoples' houses and walk around and gossip. Gossip may spoil a good home. That husband of yours, listen to him. Don't talk when he's talking, for he is like a chief to you. Don't beg him to take you with him here and there, but if he wants you to go, go, whether you want to or not. Don't one day get mad at your new family and think you can run home: a day will come when your husband will want to visit us and will bring you. Now that's your home and if you are lucky, you will grow old and die there. That is the way it is." (26)

864 Both young people were also given sex instruction. Up to this time, girls and boys had been kept rigidly separate. Girls were rarely out of sight of their mothers, in the house or on food gathering expeditions. They were expected never to speak to a man unless he were a relative, when they should offer him food and then leave him. If a strange man approached the house, they should run out and hide.

This inhibition had now to be broken down in favor of a particular man. The girl's mother said to her:

"You will now have a husband as all women do. If you did not, you would be unnatural. You must not be afraid of him. Try to do as he wishes without restraint. That is what women are for. Do not object or run away. We are bringing this man to you because it is best." (7)

The boy's father also instructed him:

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he made a noise like an owl: hm. The fifth time, he took up the bowl of clay and stirred it around with a little owl feather that was standing in the center of it. Then he put the clay to my mouth. "Drink this up!" So I drank it all.

Then he marked me, the sacred marks that are put on the men who have got salt from the magic ocean; the marks that take away bad luck and bring you a good life. On my breast, on my shoulders, my back, and my belly.

"Your name shall be cha-veela." I did not know before what name he was going to give me; neither did my parents. The medicine man names one from his dreams. Some of my friends had names that could be understood like Leaf Buds, Rustling Leaves, Windy Rainbow, Dawn Murmur. But I have never understood my name and he did not tell me.

After all that work, I did not menstruate again for a year!

VI

My father said to me: "Look, my girl. We are going to marry you, over [illegible] that house."

He did not say the boy's name out of modesty, just motioned with his lips eastward down the valley. The place he meant was Where the Water Whirls Around, where I went with my clay jars every time our pond went dry. I knew every house there and the people in them. I knew who the marriageable young man was. It was the medicine man's son. I had never spoken to him; I had never spoken to any young men except relatives and of course we do not marry relatives. But my breasts were getting large, now. That is how we know when a girl should marry. "They ought to be used for something," we say.

So my father and mother had been consulting. It must have been when I was asleep at night for I had not heard them. They had decided on a man to ask and then my father had sent my mother to tell my aunts and uncles about it. They all approved. They had not told the boy yet. That is done last of all. But of course no man would refuse, even if he already had a first wife. It would not be polite.

My father went on talking to me in a low voice. That is how our people always talk to their children, so low and quiet the child thinks he is dreaming it. But he never forgets.

"We want you to behave yourself as we have always taught you to. Stay there in the right way. Don't wait for your mother-in-law to tell you what to do. Get up early, find wheat, grind flour. If you can't make tortillas, have flour ready for her to make them. You stay right there and make

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your home there. It has been here, but now you belong there. Stay home, don't run around. Do your work, carry the wood, cook something, whatever there is. Any work you see, you do it. 159x 584 867

"Don't go off to people's houses and walk around and gossip. Gossip may spoil a good home. That husband of yours, listen to him. Don't talk when he's talking, for he is like a chief to you. Don't beg him to take you with him here and there, but if he wants you to go, go whether you feel like it or not. Don't one day get mad at your mother-in-law or father-in-law. Don't think you can get mad and run home. A day will come when your husband will want to visit us and will bring you. Now that's your home and if good luck is with you, you will grow old and die there. This is the way it is. Now I'm going over to tell the boy's father and mother."

So my father went to those peoples' house, down Where the Water Whirls Around. 159x 584

"Your son is industrious and I have an industrious daughter. Shall we marry them?"

No one can say anything but yes to such a question. If they really thought the girl was lazy and bad, they would try to be away from home. But they were very distant relatives and, of course, someone had told them what was being talked about. They said: "Very well."

My father told them: "I'm going to see that my daughter behaves herself. You watch her, too, and make sure that she follows my training." They said: "That is what we feel about our son. We have talked to him long enough; he should know his duty. See that he follows it and so will we."

So they sent the boy to our house so that in my first nights with a man I could have my mother near. Before he came, my mother said: "If he wants anything, don't be afraid of him. That's why we are having you marry." 159x 585

But I was very much afraid. I did not go and hide in the granary basket, the way one of my friends did. That was Rustling Leaves, but she was being married to an old medicine man who had her three sisters as wives already. My husband was a boy, not much older than I and he had no other wives. Only, when I thought of him, fear ran through me like a snake. He used to come to our house after dark, because it would not be modest for him to sit and eat with our family by daylight. And when morning stood up he went away. That's how I was married.

When he had been at our house four nights, it was time for me to go home and live with him. He left our house at dawn from modesty, and my mother and I went in the afternoon. My mother had her carrying basket on her back with a jar of cactus syrup as a present. But I took nothing. I

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159 We married Two Bits when he was seventeen. Some people came to us
534 and said: "We have a daughter. She was married to a man, but that man went away to the White school, and when he came back he did not take her." "She is older than your son," they said, "but she is industrious. She may be some help to him." We said: "It is true she is older, but we have seen her work. She may be a help."

159 So we told our son and he said nothing. Her mother brought us that
585 girl, and ever since she has stayed with us and behaved herself like a woman. Some wives are like this; when their husbands are away, they run out to visit. She never does. She is always home working. Many children she and my son had, so that I have grandchildren and great-grandchildren. They live still in that flat place at Standing Rock, and when I go there, they have cactus seed for me to eat.

159 I went there last year before the husband of my granddaughter died.
574 That man was sick and I could do nothing for him. I sat in their house
787 making baskets, and a little blackbird came and drank out of the water I use to wet the fibres. I told one of my grandchildren to chase the bird away, and it went into the corner of the room. That night the bird came to me. It said: "Why did you chase me from your water? Don't you know I will need it?" I knew that man would die. So that day he did. The next night he came again, with black feathers and a cow tail. "See," he said, "how pitiful I look." I knew the devil took him.

159 My second son was a medicine man. Ah, that one would have been
756 great! When he was small, he acted strange; his heart was feeling something coming. He would run out in the night, and his father would run after him and find him lying face down in the greasewood. Maybe something had come after him and taken him away.

Once, when a rattlesnake bit me, he cured me. I was picking beans among the weeds in our garden and, along with a handful of beans, I grabbed the snake. I had hold of him near the head but he turned his head back and bit my wrist. My son killed the snake. Then he chewed
[752] some greasewood leaves and put them on the little hole where it had bit me. He made a mark with a buzzard's feather all around my wrist and told the poison not to go beyond that mark. Then he split the feather and tied the two pieces into a string. He bound that string around my wrist, tight, and the poison never went beyond it. Two nights it hurt me and my hand swelled, but not beyond where my son had made the mark.

He used to bring birds home to the house and keep them; he could speak with birds. Once he kept a hawk in our house and killed jackrabbits for it. Once I saw him coming home in the evening after he had been after the

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horses, and there was something shining on his shoulder. It was the eyes of an owl. "What will you do with it?" I said. So he let it fly away. But I think he spoke with it after that, behind the mountain. 159x 756

He had crystals growing in him, and I know he had dreams but he had not told them yet. People only tell their dreams when they begin to cure. 159x 756 585

When he was seventeen he went to the drinking ceremony, and he met one of those wild women who run about without husbands and sleep in the arroyos. He put her on his horse and brought her home to Standing Rock. That was a bad thing. I did not like that, but we said nothing. Then she wanted money to buy things. She did not want him to stay and plant our corn with Two Bits. They went to the white man's town of Many Cottonwoods and had two children there. But that woman killed him. [836]

She was a woman who would not wait and do things at the right time. She lay with my son in the house when she should have been at the Little House. That kills the power of a medicine man. It rots his crystals and after a while it kills him, too. So he came back to stay with my daughter and left that woman. She would not come back with him, out of the town.

I went there to my poor son and took him to a medicine man, but that one said: "His crystals are all dead and dried. They build combs like bees and those combs are empty and blue. His power is dead." So he died. "My mother," he said to me, "I will come to you like an owl. You will know me." And it is true. The other day I was passing by a giant cactus, and there sat an owl in the fork and called to me. It does not happen often. I would like to hear my son call again. [775]

That wild woman who was his wife took another husband the next year at the drinking ceremony. The man's name was Jackrabbit Chief and he was an old man, but it was dark and she did not know it. She got on his horse with him and she said: "Where do you live?" "At the place of the Dead Dog," he said. The sun was coming up just then and she saw his face. "Oh, that's too far." She jumped off the horse and we have never seen her again. 159x 585

My daughter never lived with us very much. She lived with my mother and my brother, so when it came for her to marry, it was my brother who offered her. There was a man named Crooked Lightning whose sister was married to my brother. Crooked Lightning was as old as my brother. He was a singer and a good man. He had a wife who scolded him but he did not scold her. Only one day he went away from her and came to my brother, and said he needed another wife. So my brother gave him my daughter, Crescensa. She is a big fat woman now, a good woman. 159x 584● 586

It has been a long time since my children were married. My old husband 159x 503 888

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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551 the important names are still the kinship terms, and the nicknames which are a source of amusement and gossip for everyone.

MARRIAGE

581 Marriage is the normal adult state among the Papago. In the old days there were few bachelors and almost no unmarried women. Today there are more single adults, but they are a very small proportion of the tribe, and spinsters
582 are looked upon as something of a curiosity. Girls may marry at fourteen and boys at sixteen, but the usual ages seem to be between sixteen and eighteen for girls and between eighteen and twenty for boys.

584 According to the old custom—practiced in a few cases as recently as ten years ago—marriages were arranged by the families of the bride and groom, usually without consulting the young people concerned. Nowadays young Papago almost without exception select their own mates and consult their parents later. Usually, however, the parent's wishes are followed, although a few young people have braved family disapproval to marry whom they pleased.

582 Apparently the chief prerequisite for marriage is that the young couple be unrelated, a restriction strengthened by the ban laid by the Roman Catholic church on marriage within the third degree of relationship. In recent years there have been several cases of marriage between first cousins without more stringent penalties than adverse gossip, but one such couple in the conservative
[684] Hickiwan District were ostracized by both their families, who said that they were "living like dogs."

Because of this general restriction against marriage between close relatives, young people customarily used to marry outside their own communities where nearly everyone was related. In the larger villages, where new blood has come in and therefore relationships are not so close, many young people who are neighbors marry.

Whatever their birthplace, some Papago say that the bride and groom used to belong to the same dialect group. This was less a result of sanction than of circumstance; before there were many roads on the Reservation and until many people went to work in the mines or cotton fields, Papago seldom met
[186] those of any other dialect group. Even now, though there are many intermixtures of dialect, there is still a strong in-group feeling, and outsiders are teased or ridiculed not only for the difference in their speech but also because
582 of their personal appearance and mannerisms. A bride from a different dialect
591 group coming to her husband's home must anticipate a good deal of such

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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it is the short distance to a neighboring house cluster, and then she is always in full sight of her relatives all the way. Even in twos or threes girls are forbidden to walk about the desert or to loiter where men are working.

In the old days marriages were arranged by families, and young people had little voice in the selection of partners. The concept of romantic love has been introduced by white schools, movies, and magazines, and today there is much more freedom of choice. But, as a rule, Papago girls and boys are still circumspect in public. Though adolescents do not play together at school, they have more opportunities there for talking together and flirting than at home. Eleven- and twelve-year-old boys tease the girls, trip them up, or take their books. Older lads are more likely to start a disturbance to gain the attention and admiration of some particular girl; they are seldom disappointed. On the other hand, some of the girls quite openly seek to attract masculine attention by slight misbehavior in the classroom, and they often linger on the playground to watch the boys' ball games, a delicate attention which is not unappreciated.

At fiestas a boy will dance oftener with the girl of his choice than with the other girls. Sometimes they escape into the darkness away from the dance ground for lovemaking.

How much sexual promiscuity takes place is difficult to determine, for the Papago are conscious that their standards differ from those of whites, and they do not talk freely on the subject. Sex affairs that are intended to result in marriage do not seem merely promiscuous to the Papago, and many "Indian-custom" marriages begin in just this way, often in the cotton fields, where chaperonage is difficult to maintain. For sex relations that are not a prelude to marriage, boys are seldom censured, but girls are blamed for "going off in the bushes." However, the girl seems to be less severely criticized if she gives birth to an illegitimate child; neither the child nor its mother suffers social stigma, and the situation seems not to affect the girl's chances for marriage.

The boy who wishes to pay formal court to a girl will find excuses to visit her home, ostensibly to see a male member of the family. Everyone knows why he is there and takes great, though courteously veiled, interest in the progress of the courtship. The girl can discourage her suitor by disappearing on the pretext of having a task to do elsewhere. If she likes the boy, she will remain in the room while he is in the house; eventually he will find a way to propose, and they will announce to their parents that they intend to marry. They begin living together at once or soon afterward—usually in the household of the groom—and, whether or not a wedding ceremony is performed, are thenceforth regarded as man and wife. They have taken their places in the world of adults.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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562 in fact, the "boss" of the household and gives her husband as well as her child his portion of food. She is systematic, while the man, in whom the characteristics of the hunter still survive, has little or no order. Her vigilant eyes look after everything and she is consulted in all transactions. The dogs follow the woman and be- [422] long to her, the husband rarely speaking to them.

581 Sometimes a young man will marry a woman more than old enough to be his mother since, under the changed conditions of the tribe, many of the young fellows do not know how to take care of themselves. He may work for an elderly woman who owns cattle and behave so much to her satisfaction that marriage results, and women have in this way been known to make manly men out of flippant youngsters. The children are treated [855] kindly by the parents and are kind to each other.

584 Formerly a bamboo flute was played by a young [534] man, especially in the evening, to attract the attention of a girl, though the ultimate choice of a partner rested with his father and mother. Up to recent times the sons were obedient to their parents and readily consented to marry the girls picked out for them. A son was instructed how to behave in order to find favor with a nice girl with whom appearances weigh little compared to the noble qualities of being a good hunter, not lazy, and an efficient agriculturist. It is the girl's father who makes the first advances in a matrimonial venture. He talks the matter over with the father of the boy who, however, sometimes may decline. But if the father is able to say that his son is willing, the latter betakes him-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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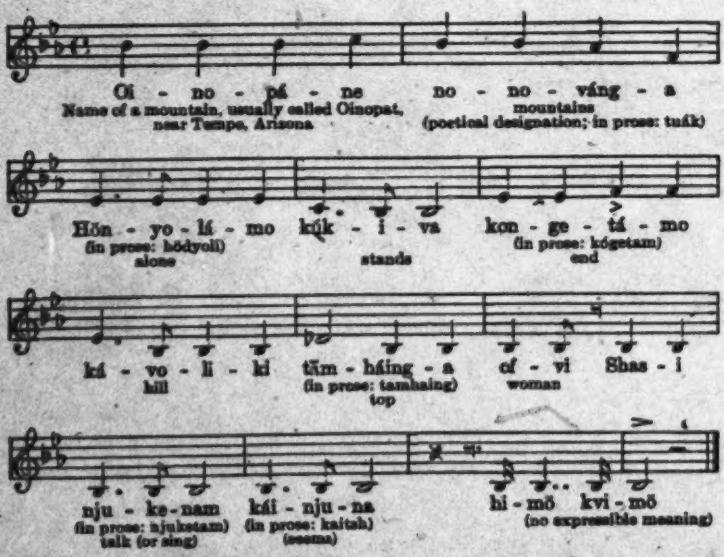
self to the girl's house and stays there four nights. Her mother then takes her to the bridegroom's home and leaves her there. No services of the medicine-man are necessary; if they mutually agree to live as husband and

PIMA SONG

USED WHEN THE YOUNG GIRLS COME OF AGE


Oi - no - pá - ne
Name of a mountain, usually called Oinopat, near Tempe, Arizona
no - no - váng - a
mountains
(poetical designation; in prose: tuñk)
Hŏn - yo - lá - mo
(in prose: hŏdyoli) alone
kŭk - i - va
stands
kon - ge - tá - mo
(in prose: kógetam) end
kí - vo - li - ki
hill
tăm - hăing - a
(in prose: tamhaing) top
oi - vi Shas - i
woman
nju - ke - nam
(in prose: njuketam) talk (or sing)
kái - nju - na
(in prose: kaitah) (seems)
hi - mŏ kvi - mŏ
(no expressible meaning)

This song may still be heard among the Papago, *e. g.*, at Ánekam rancheria in Santa Rosa valley, but it originated from the Pima.

wife, they remain in the house of the young man's father until the latter's death. The son may make a house for himself near by, but he helps his father in his work. If the girl does not like the boy, she may walk back to her parents. Conferences between the fathers will then ensue to try to adjust matters and, until recently, sometimes the